

by the war, has overwhelmed the indigenous population. Joblessness and underemployment, especially among the young East Timorese, are high.

Indonesia maintains order through a highly visible military force of 20,000 to 30,000 troops and an extensive administrative apparatus. But a sophisticated underground resistance in the towns and villages challenges its authority. The underground has strong links to Falintil guerrillas in the mountains and to the resistance's diplomatic front abroad, led by Ramos Horta.

I saw this firsthand when I spent 24 hours during my trip with David Alex and 10 of the 150 Falintil guerrillas under his command. Underground activists drove me to a rural safe house, where I was taken on a lengthy hike to the guerrillas' mountain camp. My transport in and out of the region relied on the cooperation of numerous people from many walks of life, exposing the hollowness of Indonesia's claims that the resistance is marginalized and isolated within East Timor.

Many East Timorese told me that only the United States, Indonesia's longtime military and economic patron, has the clout to pressure the Jakarta government into resolving the conflict. Successive U.S. administrations have provided Indonesia with billions in aid since the 1975 invasion, despite United Nations resolutions calling upon Indonesia to withdraw and allow the East Timorese to determine their own future.

Bill Clinton, who called U.S. policy toward East Timor "unconscionable" before he became president, seems just as beholden as his predecessors to the lure of Indonesia, which Richard Nixon once called "by far the greatest prize" in Southeast Asia. The Clinton administration has provided Indonesia with almost \$400 million in economic aid, has sold or licensed the sale of \$270 million in weaponry.

Meanwhile, East Timor teeters on the edge of increased violence. On Dec. 24, 100,000 people gathered in Dili to welcome Bishop Belo back from receiving the Nobel Prize in Oslo. Youths in the crowd, apparently fueled by rumors of an Indonesian military plot to assassinate Belo, attacked two men who they suspected of being in the Indonesian military and killed another carrying a pistol and a walkie-talkie. (Belo had announced a month before that the military had twice made attempts on his life.)

In the past three weeks, rioting has broken out in two different regions of the territory. Indonesian troops have responded with a major crackdown and numerous arrests. Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), after a recent three-day visit to East Timor, described the atmosphere as one of "terror" and "total and complete fear."

Some East Timorese I met on my recent visit expressed fears that the violence and repression will intensify. "The people here are desperate," one priest said. "If the situation does not change soon, there will be much more bloodshed."●

MR. HERMAN C. GILBERT: A MAN WHO MADE A DIFFERENCE

● Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN. Mr. President, later today, a number of the friends of Herman C. Gilbert will come together to remember a man whose life embodied the core values we hold so dear. While many people will attend tonight's service at Cosmopolitan Community Church in Chicago, however, they will be only a very small fraction of those whose lives he touched, and those whose lives he made better.

Herman Gilbert was a leader; he was a doer; he made things happen. All of his life, he worked to make his community a better place in which to live. All of his life he worked to open the doors of opportunity. All of his life he strove to turn what Dr. Martin Luther King called the American "Declaration of Intent" into the reality of life for every American.

Herman Gilbert led in many fields. He was a publisher; he cofounded Path Press to publish books by and about African-Americans. He was a political leader; he was one of the cofounders of the Chicago League of Negro Voters in 1959, and he served as chief of staff to Congressman Gus Savage for 2 years. He was a civil rights leader, working closely with Dr. King and Mayor Harold Washington of Chicago to fulfill the promise of America for minority Americans. He was a labor leader, active in the United Packinghouse Workers, a progressive union.

Herman Gilbert was a strong man, with strong views. He brought determination, intelligence, good judgment, and perhaps most importantly, a real commitment to principle and to fundamental values, in everything he did. He knew that nothing worth having comes easily, that real achievement is built on hard work—and he worked hard all of his life for his family, for his community, for African-Americans as a people, and for his country.

I know he will be greatly missed by his wife, Ivy, by his sister, Addie Lawrence, by his son, Vincent, by his daughter, Dorothea, by his stepdaughter, Lynnette Tate, and by his grandchildren. He will also be missed by the people of Mariana, AR, where he was born, by the people of Cairo, IL, where his family moved in 1937, by the people of the city of Chicago, where he spent most of his life, and by people all across this country who have so benefited from his lifetime of effort on their behalf, and on behalf of us all.

I will greatly miss him, Mr. President. His was a life that made a difference for many, many people; his was a life that made an important difference for me. Like the others whose lives he touched, I have greatly benefited from the legacy embodied in the life and work of Herman C. Gilbert.●

COMMENDATION UPON THE RETIREMENT OF KAY DOWHOWER

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, it is with great honor that I rise to commend Kay S. Dowhower. After more than 9 years of committed service, Kay is leaving her role as director of the Evangelical Lutheran Church's governmental affairs office in the Nation's capital to pursue other advocacy efforts within the church. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America is a church with a membership of over 5.2 million people and 11,000 congregations.

During those 9 years, she has worked tirelessly for social justice in the for-

mulation of public policy. She has been a committed spokesperson for the poor and the powerless in this Nation and abroad. Her competent work has provided her church, her colleagues, and those in Government with encouragement and a model of excellence.

Kay Dowhower, you will be missed. We have been the better because of your unwavering efforts to challenge us to do what is just for the least of these in our Nation and in the world.●

RURAL HEALTH IMPROVEMENT ACT

● Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity and make a few comments about a bill that my colleague, Senator MAX BAUCUS introduced yesterday. The bill, known as the Rural Health Improvement Act, is designed to help struggling, small, rural hospitals across America.

I am pleased to join Senator BAUCUS as an original cosponsor of this important bill. It will go a long way in helping people served by rural facilities.

As cochairman of the Senate Rural Health Caucus, I have worked long and hard to ensure rural families have access to quality care. This is an issue that concerns not just a select few, but all Senators because every State has at least some low-population areas.

Unfortunately, too many of our small hospitals are confronted with the decision of having to close because they can no longer contend with declining inpatient stays, costly regulations, and low Medicare reimbursement rates. However, closing hospitals is not an acceptable option in Wyoming. In my State, if a town loses its most important point of service—the emergency room—it is typical for patients to drive 100 miles or more to the closest tertiary care center.

With the Medicare trust fund going broke, it also is understood that underutilized facilities cannot continue to be subsidized. However, an alternative must still be available. That is why it is necessary to give small rural hospitals the ability to downsize without having to maintain a full-service operation.

Mr. President, the Rural Health Improvement Act allows facilities to reconfigure their service and reduce excess bed capacity while retaining access to emergency care. In short, the bill presents communities with a viable option. It accommodates different levels of medical care throughout a State while providing stabilization services needed in remote areas.

The bill is one in a series of measures the Rural Health Caucus is working on designed to improve quality medical care in rural America. It is similar to legislation I introduced as a Member of the House of Representatives, and I look forward to working with Senator BAUCUS to pass this important, bipartisan piece of legislation.●